OBEDIENCE

THE BEST

CHARTER;

OR,

LAW

THE ONLY SANCTION OF

LIBERTY.

IN A LETTER TO THE REV. DR. PRICE.

> But of him, indeed, it may be ſaid, that for want of knowing the nature of real Liberty, he buſied himſelf in purſuit of an imaginary one; and that he built a Chalcedon, though he had a Byzantium before his Eyes.
>
> MONTESQUIEU.

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OBEDIENCE

THE BEST CHARTER.

REVEREND SIR,

LITTLE did I expect, the laſt time I had the pleaſure of hearing you preach, that our next meeting ſhould be at Philippi. But in this manner the world ſtill goes round, and we are ſo irreſiſtably carried away by the general courſe of things, that we hardly know this moment where we ſhall be, or what we ſhall do the next. With all the ſtores of liberty and reaſon of which you kindly think us poſſeſſed, for my own part, I feel every day of my life, that I have full as much mechaniſm as freedom about me; and that whether I incline to it or not, I am ſtill very much the Child of accident and chance.

But your ſentiments of phyſical, moral, and religious liberty, quaintly defined, and partially

ſtated as they are, I mean not here to conteſt.—Your fantaſtic notions of government, your violent attacks on the prevailing party in parliament, and that indiſcriminating torrent of abuſe you pour ſo liberally on all who differ from you, are much more exceptionable, becauſe much more pernicious, and deſerve ſome animadverſion, not in compliment to their merit or importance, but to counteract an accidental influence which they acquire from the complexion of the age in which they are wrote, and the temper of the party to whom they are addreſſed.

Give me leave then, Sir, to trace a little the chain of your argument, which, by the way, if it could be ſeparated from the ſpirit and tone of your book, is neither tedious nor forcible. But you have this ſingular advantage over all your adverſaries; that the bulk of your readers will not be theirs. Bigotry genrates confidence, as directly and unavoidably, in politics as in religion. Your diſciples will not liſten to another doctrine, becauſe they have neither moderation nor ſcience, ſufficient to make them ſuſpect they may be wrong; and while they think themſelves

themſelves ſo much in the right, it is not to be ſuppoſed they can wiſh to be undeceived. Thus be your allegations ever ſo falſe, your facts ever ſo diſguiſed, and your conſequences ever ſo forced, there is no diſproving your aſſertions, no detecting your miſrepreſentations, no defeating your concluſions; and merely, to uſe a trite obſervation, becauſe *there is none ſo blind as thoſe who will not ſee.* In the preſent arrangement of things, indeed, error will always have a wider circle than truth. And popular errors are the more difficult to eradicate, that vulgar minds are never guided ſo much by thinking, as by feeling; and that we are generally incapable of conviction in proportion to our ignorance.

I DECLARE myſelf, however, no politician, unleſs an honeſt concern for public welfare ſhould be thought ſufficient to make me one. My intereſt in this diſpute is as little as yours, as little as the pooreſt man's in the kingdom can be. But while the nation is ſo much fermented as it is, no individual can be wholly indifferent. We are all ſtateſmen, from the king down to the cobler; all ſenators, patriots, and philoſophers, and every

one has juſt as good a right to be heard as another. On this principle I ſtep forth, an advocate for decency and moderation. My head is not perplexed with facts to miſlead me, nor my heart, like yours, warped by the artifices and connections of a party. And be my circumſtances what they will, my mind, in this matter at leaſt, is ſtill independant. I will ſpeak what I think with freedom, perhaps what I feel with warmth. Your abſurdities may ſometimes betray me into a raſh expreſſion. You ought not, however, to complain of abuſe, becauſe you have extorted from me a ſeries of reflections that never can be made without pain. The temper of mind in which you have thrown yourſelf on the mercy of the public, is much more calculated to irritate than pleaſe; and whatever they ſhould ſay, or think, you muſt therefore abide by the conſequence. But though I might plead you for a precedent, I ſhall never ſtoop to the foul mouthed language of a Wilkes, or like a ſwarm of literary cowards, ſtab deliberately in the dark. For though I publiſh anonymouſly, to indulge my own taſte and love of quiet, if the circumſtance of leaving my name with the

bookſeller

bookſeller makes any odds, it is very much at your ſervice.

How very few of the nameleſs papers that are every day appearing and diſappearing on this ſubject, give any new or conſiſtent ideas about it. The common topics on both ſides are retailed, repeated, twiſted and tranſmigrated thro' a thouſand forms, without the leaſt apology; and you may read in this track till the day of your death, and conclude juſt much about where you began. Both parties ſeem determined to catch at every unmanly advantage, to aver boldly, blame indiſcriminately, conjecture at random, and decide with temerity. They think they perſuade in proportion as they aſſume; that audacity is the natural tone of liberty; quibbling, wit; ſophiſtry, argument; and a rude exploſion of trite phraſes, vague ſurmiſes, raſh concluſions, invidious epithets, and opprobrious names, ſufficient to decide a queſtion the moſt critical and important that ever ingroſſed the public attention.

After all you have ſaid on the ſubject of human volition and ſelf direction, let me beg your attention, Sir, to a maxim you have totally overlooked, " that liberty, without limitation, is " incompatible with finite beings." The Supreme Governor of the univerſe ſubjects his own operations to the rules by which that univerſe is regulated; and every ſubordinate nature is circumſcribed by bounds which it cannot paſs over. The very ſavage, though literally a beaſt of prey, is yet ſtinted in his depredations by the weakneſs of his nature, by the will of his tribe, by the fear of his life. For there is not a period in the hiſtory of mankind, in which we ſhall not find them leſs or more in a ſtate of ſociety, acting in groups, guided by laws, and under the management of certain leaders. The rudeſt and moſt uncivilized form of government is founded in compact, either expreſſed or underſtood; nor is it poſſible to enjoy the protection ſhe affords, or ſhare the privileges ſhe confers, without contributing to her ſupport. Conſequently liberty, in every connection and ſphere of life, is a term merely comparative; and even where poſſeſſed with the leaſt reſtrictions, ſtill very much ideal.

The

The following paſſage from a late writer, ſpeaks the very language of my heart: " We literally " live on the wants, whether natural or artifi- " cial, of one another; and they who are born " under a government like ours, which allows " them to do what they pleaſe conſiſtently with " law, virtually pledge their all in ſupport of " that government. She confers liberty on her " ſubjects, and receives from their union and " loyalty that force and ſtability which cheriſh " and preſerve it. In this ſenſe there is not, " perhaps, a community on earth in which the " individual can call either his property or his " life his own. The radical, the tacit, the ac- " knowledged condition on which his claims to " its privileges are founded, is, that he ſhall " have no will, no intereſt, no law, but that of " the public. If he cannot live by his own " induſtry, he lives by theirs; if his life is at- " tacked, they defend him; if his property is " ſeized, they afford him redreſs. In return, " he is their ſervant, at their call, in their " power; if they need his purſe, it is open; if " they need his life, he is ready to ſurrender it; " his poſſeſſions are wholly at their diſpoſal;

" and

" and he deſerves not the name of a man, who " ſcruples to ſhed his blood in their cauſe *."

But you muſt be ſenſible, ſpeculations of this kind are not directly to the point, diſcover more ſhow than ſtrength of thinking, are at beſt eaſily ſuggeſted, and as eaſily forgotten. At the commencement of ſociety indeed, the remoteſt hints about every thing connected with it, might be of infinite conſequence. We have been too long foſtered, however, in the arms of art, to recur now to a ſtate of pure nature. Our habits are formed and fixed by the manners and faſhions of the civilized world ſo firmly, that we are juſt as capable of acting the part of angels as of ſavages. We are deſtined to a place in the globe, where we may blame ourſelves if we are not full as happy and comfortable as mortals can be. And who knows not that perſonal eaſe and convenience have always been dearer to the bulk of individuals, becauſe every where more intimately felt, than civil liberty? Immoderate expectations of every kind aſſuredly terminate in diſappoint-

* Moir's Diſcourſes, juſt publiſhed.

ment.

ment. Did we always take our ideas from life, facts would be every where at hand to confirm them; but unfortunately, Sir, for your fine and finical picture of human freedom it has no original, either within the circle of human experience, or human obſervation. Look back to antiquity.—They too had their SIDNEYS, their MILTONS, and their LOCKES, who, like their modern diſciples, knew much better how to deſcribe liberty than realize it. An unbounded ambition, and no ſuperior regard for the rights of humanity, was, in fact, the great Shrine at which they bowed univerſally, and for the ſake of which their moſt daring and ſplendid exploits were conſtantly performed. With them, it would ſeem as with all the world, the purſuit of liberty was no more than a ſecondary one, and had only a collateral influence on their public conduct.

How often ſhall we be told, that the Americans wiſh only to poſſeſs the ſame freedom, the ſame civil and religious privileges that we

do? Perhaps you will not anſwer a queſtion that is put, becauſe you think all your own unanſwerable, otherwiſe I would aſk, What then do they mean by ſpurning at the ſupremacy of parliament? They call themſelves our brethren, our fellow ſubjects, the children of BRITAIN, yet think they riſque every thing in her hands. Thus by treating her with diffidence and ſuſpicion, though their grumbling had never burſted into action, they inſult and defy her to her face.

IF it is no more than the preſent miniſters they object to, and are unwilling only to ſubmit to Britain, under what they think a deſpotic management; were we as deeply convinced of that fact as they ſeem to be, it would be our honour, our duty, and our intereſt, as much as it can be theirs, to join them heart in hand. Even in that caſe, however, it would be ſtill but fair to leave us the liberty of judging for ourſelves. But this is by no means the ground of their quarrel, and I know not how it is lugged ſo frequently into

into the diſpute. For not to any degree of imperfection ſuppoſable in the legiſlation of Britain, but to the ſupremacy of that legiſlation, merely as ſuch, over them, their oppoſition has been uniformly pointed.

The more I think, Sir, on this matter, the more am I aſtoniſhed at the abſurdity of your plea. To poſſeſs the privileges of Engliſhmen, independent of thoſe laws by which theſe privileges exiſt, is juſt as if you would ſuppoſe it poſſible to live without meat, ſee without light, and breathe without air. Are you aware, Sir, that this doctrine is repugnant to the very being of ſociety; introduces a new hereſy into the ſyſtem of politics, more perilous and dreadful in its conſequences than all the ſcholaſtic nonſenſe that ever bore the name; and is moreover a problem, which beſides ſetting all the ſtateſmen in Europe a ſtareing, muſt appear to diſpaſſionate poſterity incompatible with the liberal and ſcientific genius of the preſent age.

THEY complain, and you adopt their complaint with a vengeance, that they have no repreſentation in our legiſlature, and are conſequently governed by laws without their own conſent, as if, while their relation to BRITAIN remained unbroken, they were not as fully repreſented, in every ſenſe of the word, as a much greater number of Britons on this ſide of the Atlantic are. For all the difference between thoſe repreſented among them and among us, is that the former live together, and the latter apart. And ſurely it matters not much to me, and thouſands beſides, that a FEW here and there have the power of perjuring themſelves once in ſeven years, while we have not. A partial repreſentation is equivalent to none at all. It certainly can be no adequate ſecurity to any country under heaven, on your principles. Indeed let the body politic be as flagitious as you pleaſe, they can hardly ſeize my property, without ſomehow affecting their own. And on what terms can a community of intereſts with prodigals, ſharpers, and pickpockets, be ſafe. They may dege-

degenerate into abſolute profligacy, and fall inglorious in the ruins of their country and conſtituents. They may not—and that probability is all the pledge or inſurance we can poſſibly obtain, either for our lives or properties, by the beſt regulated ſociety on earth. For there is no truſting human nature implicitly without lying in a great meaſure at the mercy of accident.

The univerſal degeneracy and ſelfiſhneſs of modern times render power and property almoſt inſeparable. By the taſtes and purſuits of a mercenary world, wealth is daily degrading the human mind, and every where acquiring an influence repugnant to the common rights of mankind. At leaſt our blind veneration for thoſe above us, and the abject deference paid to riches, render all our Utopian ſchemes of liberty, equality, and ſimplicity, for ever impracticable. Thus among our preſent members of parliament, you can hardly mention a ſingle poor man, unleſs perhaps one or two, who more fooliſh and deſperate than

than the reſt, have reduced their fortunes by purchaſing their ſeats at an enormous price.

INDEED that period even in Engliſh hiſtory, which may be more properly called the hiſtory of liberty, cannot be ſpecified, when elections were carried on without any ſpecies of bribery. For every degree of influence, whether exerted directly or indirectly, if exerted at all, ought to be ſtigmatiſed by that name. And yet, Sir, I cannot for my life conceive, how men can poſſeſs our circumſtances, and not act as we do. All mankind, in proportion as they ſettle into habits of ſocial and domeſtic life, or riſe in the arts of induſtry, elegance, and eaſe, are guided, controuled, moulded by one uniform inflexible ſyſtem of INTEREST. And the queſtion now is not, whether that ſyſtem be laudable or not, but whether it can or ought to be altered for a betrer; or whether, in that caſe, the remedy would not be ſtill more alarming, becauſe much more dangerous than the diſeaſe?

EVERY

Every one acquainted with human ſtory muſt know, that the annals of the whole world afford not a ſingle example of an opulent, extenſive, and commercial ſtate, ſuch as ours is, realizing your principles of government. We muſt not figure human nature more perfect than it is, and then cenſure it as exhibited in life, becauſe unequal to the image of it that floats in our brain. While your notions of civil liberty prevail, or are kept in view, the beſt mode of adminiſtration that ever was or can be adopted, in a like caſe, muſt appear exceptionable. Nor is it fair to argue from ideas ſo abſolutely chimerical. Why not take mankind as they are, and urge them, if you will, to be rather what they can, than what you think they ought? They are under no obligation to exceed the abilities which God hath given. And you ſtep a little out of your ſphere in preſcribing for them what they were never intended to perform. Thus it always happens that reformers miſs their aim by ſhooting eternally beyond the mark.

Our governors, therefore, as you are pleaſed to call them, have reaſons much more ſolid and ſubſtantial for rejecting, than you have for recommending the aërial theories of ſpeculative and abſtracted men. I will add, had you the ſame delicate and multifarious plan to manage, and the ſame obſtreperous Fumblers that muſt ſtill be meddling and fingering, and ſpoiling, every thing within their reach, at once to humour and curb, which they have, you perhaps might find yourſelf under the neceſſity of giving them up, with juſt as little concern as they do. Nor is it, as you wantonly exclaim, becauſe the Americans are the diſciples of Locke, that government aims at their reduction, but becauſe they are diſciples of anarchy and confuſion, enemies to ſociety, and rebels to their King. And pray, Sir, what does it ſignify whoſe diſciples they are, while no diſcipline but that of the ſword, can reclaim them to decency and decorum?

Admit-

ADMITTING for a moment, they had a parliament of their own, on the ſame plan, and under the ſame regulations with ours, would it not be nearly, if not preciſely with them, as it is with us; thoſe who had moſt property, would every where have moſt ſway, and the great body of the people, as in every other ſtate of ſociety, ſubmit to a very handful? The multitude, wherever you caſt your eyes through the habitable globe, are all alike, the tools of a FEW. Depend upon it, whoever has the beſt addreſs, and can diſtribute the largeſt ſums, will ſoon acquire the greateſt leading, and riſe to a certain pre-eminence, among any aſſembly of human beings, that feel, and think, and act, as we do. Conſequently, the vulgar in America, and the vulgar in England, have neither of them much intereſt in the matter. Whichever of the ſides proves victorious, muſt be their maſters at all events; and it is certainly hard to ſay which ſhall be beſt. Indeed the conteſt, properly ſpeaking, as moſt national ones are, is only between a few in each hemiſphere, whom fortune has inad-

vertently flung into ſuperior nations, who know not elſe how to ſpend their money, and their time, than by ſporting with the humour of thoſe beneath them, who in every poſſible ſituation, have ſomewhat unfortunately for you and me, too much ſail for their ballaſt. What a pity the blind devoted HERD have not ſenſe enough to leave them at logger-heads, and let them fight it out among themſelves. Here our common friend Rouſſeau, with more tenderneſs than good nature, would probably add in that arch ſort of humour ſo characteriſtic of his temper, and I am not far from his way of thinking, "that the bulk of mankind have "always been fools, and always paid for "their folly.

THE capital charge which you toſs in our face, in almoſt every page of your patriotic performance, is, that the Miniſters want to to ſeize the American's money, without their conſent, or that their ſubjection to parliamentary authority, would oblige them to part with their property againſt their will. My good

Sir,

Sir, I have done it all my life, ſo has every man in America, and happen what will, with a very few exceptions, muſt do to the end of the chapter. What ſociety has not her own original, and fundamental terms of admiſſion, to which all her members virtually ſubſcribe? By acqueiſcing in theſe we poſſeſs innumerable benefits, at the trifling expence of relinquiſhing in a few things our own inclination. Whatever, therefore, ſhe needs at our hand, is not ours to give, but her own unalienable right, which we dare not refuſe but at our peril. The moment we put a negative on her natural and neceſſary requiſitions, the dye is caſt, and ſhe has neither power nor ſpirit, if ſhe does not reduce us to ſubjection, or periſh in the attempt.

The principles of all ſorts of union that takes place among rational creatures, are indicated, and partly expreſſed in every attachment of the heart; but who knows not that all our ſympathies operate under certain reſtrictions, and that mutual attachments and

connections of every kind uniformly ſuppoſe an endleſs ſeries of mutual ſacrifices. You cannot, for example, enjoy the felicities either of private friendſhip, or public company, without laying yourſelf under various reſtraints, and ſubjecting yourſelf to many inconveniencies. Indeed there is not a comfort ariſing from the liberal exerciſe of our ſympathetic affections, which demands not in ſome ſhape or other, as an indiſpenſible preliminary, a certain degree of ſelf denial. To what are all thoſe tender endearments, which render the conjugal ſtate ſo emphatically bleſſed owing, if not to an equal readineſs and facility in both parties to give up their taſte, their tempers, and inclinations, whenever the peace, or the pleaſure of one another makes it neceſſary. All the different modifications of ſociety take place preciſely on theſe terms. Subjection and dependence are ideas inſeperable from the condition of a ſubject. Theſe ideas may be tempered, and ſoftened, and varied without end according to the genius of particular governments, but they adhere eſſentially, and fundamentally

mentally to every political conſtitution in the known world.

THAT State never had a being in which it could be ſaid, with the leaſt ſhadow of truth, that every man was his own LEGISLATOR; for this ſingle but ſubſtantial reaſon, that perhaps no ſtate can exiſt without a number of individuals, who have really no will at all of their own. What ſignify lucubrations, and refinements, which apply not to life. Theories, for the moſt part, are the legitimate offſpring of dulneſs, foſtered, in the boſom of ignorance and pride, and flung on the world at large, without deſign, and generally without effect. Let the formal fabricators of ſyſtem and paradox, however, amuſe themſelves as much as they pleaſe, in ſpinning out their idle, inſipid abſtractions; I pity the man who can beſtow a thought not intimately connected with practice. For my own part, all the ſtateſmen and jugglers in Europe, ſhall never perſuade me, that I had any more concern in a ſingle law that exiſts, than the child who never ſaw

the

the light. No: They have all taken place ſo abſolutely independent of my inclination, that I ſeldom know any thing about them, till they are enacted, and perhaps very little then. And I would fain know, what ſort of volition that is, or what it can be good for, of which one is not conſcious. Be pleaſed alſo to inform me, at your leiſure, how it can affect my liberty, on what ſide of the Atlantic I am, when a law is made, which, to all intents and purpoſes, ſtill takes effect, whether I will or not. Thus, inſtead of being eſtabliſhed by common conſent, LAW is at beſt, and perhaps not the worſe on that account, no more than the voice of a FEW, who, whatever right they may poſſeſs from capacity, or ſituation, have ſpoken from the beginning of the world, in no other ſtile than that of the imperetive; and who, on the moſt eligible principles of delegation, are only nominal ſubſtitutes, to whom intereſt, or accident, or caprice, may have blindly given the preference. For I muſt ever be of opinion, that human imperfections, and the endleſs interfe-

rences

rences of ſelfiſh paſſions, and I know not how many little ſiniſter and private views, render an impartial repreſentation altogether impracticable.

That a parliament, like individuals, may ſink into degeneracy, has already been allowed; but ſurely, the Britiſh parliament, is leſs liable to general depravity than any other, becauſe it is ſubject to more checks, and becauſe the members of which it conſiſts, has a larger intereſt at ſtake. Take your word for it, however, the body politic is already in the laſt ſtage of a declenſion, which no preſcription can prevent. Pray, Sir, may I aſk, at an humble diſtance, and without any of thoſe conſequential airs, which, perhaps, your connection with the great may entitle you to aſſume, by whoſe authority do you thus denounce the fate of a kingdom, whoſe ſubjects are numerous, opulent, and brave; whoſe trade is proſperous and permanent, whoſe counſels are ſteady and reſolute, whoſe fleet and armies, the terror of ſurrounding nations,

nations, are now equipt, marching with their wonted confidence and ardour, and, from the leaſt to the greateſt, elated with the proſpect of glory and conqueſt.

THOUGH the legiſlative power, in both its branches, ſhould become ſo abſolutely dependant on the executive, as to be nothing but a tool for enſlaving the people, which is not at all probable, would you, therefore, make the people both parties and judges in their own cauſe? In all emergencies of this kind, where the laſt appeal ſhould lie is a problem, at leaſt in our conſtitution, to which hiſtory affords no ſatisfactory ſolution. In the time of the unfortunate CHARLES I. the people had no repreſentation, and he was fool enough to ſtruggle for prerogative independant of parliament. Thus, while the executive part of the conſtitution, ſtrove to engroſs the ſovereignty intire, it ſtood alone; till the people, headed by thoſe who ought to have repreſented them, attacked and deſtroyed it. But ſhould the whole ſtate, in her preſent complex form, forfeit

feit her title to ſupremacy, who ſhall give ſentence againſt her, or ſtep forward and inflict the puniſhment ſhe deſerves. In ſuch circumſtances, no doubt the government is virtually diſſolved, but how, and by whom are theſe circumſtances to be diſcriminated? You would not chuſe to put ſo much confidence in the crown, becauſe then we ſhould have an abſolute, inſtead of a mixed monarchy; nor could it be leſs precarious in the power of the people, for in that caſe, our conſtitution ſhould be wholly republican, and of all the curſes that can befall humanity, this certainly is the laſt and moſt deplorable. Conſequently, it is not eaſy to fix where the omnipotence of a ſtate ſhould reſide with the greateſt ſafety and utility to the ſubject; but rather any where, or no where, than in a mob, who are generally inſtigated by the worſt, and vent their fury on the beſt of mankind. Or if you will ſuppoſe people and parliament diſtinct ideas, which, by the way, ſhews your fondneſs for quibbling and paradox, is it not ſtill better to truſt more to the latter than to

the former, ſince the latter have all the weight of property, a little philoſophy, and ſome latent ſeeds of dignity and honour in their natures, to keep them decent and quiet; whereas the latter, always needy, are always in readineſs for the wanton perpetration of every deſperate deed into which a general panic, or deſigning men may ſurpriſe them.

By conſidering America apart, as not leſs diſtinct from the general empire, in form of policy, than local ſituation, you perplex and interlard the argument with I know not how many extraneous ideas and digreſſions. What you aſſume as firſt principles, your opponents never can, never will grant you. Theſe you ought, by all means to have eſtabliſhed previous to your deductions. For whether theſe deductions are fair, or forced, while the maxims that produce them, however ſpecious, are falſe in fact, your friends may applaud your zeal, but every perſon of taſte and diſcernment, muſt ſee through your ſophiſtry.

That

That civil liberty conſiſts in every man's being his own law-giver—that the nation is one thing, and its rulers another—that the preſent adminiſtration is arbitrary and tyrannical—that the ſupremacy of this country is limited by the Atlantic—that the Americans are not in a ſtate of rebellion—that the loſs of their trade is irreparable—that our attempts to reduce them is iniquitous and unconſtitutional—that we totter on the very brink of irretrievable perdition—and that as the Americans are a ſeparate people in point of the ſpot they occupy, they are entitled, by the law of nature, to the privilege of governing themſelves, are what conſtitute the chief burthen of your ſong, and ſounds, which every popular Fool in the kingdom, from his Grace on the bench, down to the ſcullion in the kitchen, have, times innumerable, chimed through all their changes. And, notwithſtanding your confidence in theſe poſtulatums, every one of them has been found ſo very untenable, that you are often obliged to ſhift your general ground

for ſome inſignificant ſubterfuge, that has hardly any connection with the matter.

I MIGHT have ſatisfied myſelf with barely analyzing your propoſitions, and have left your concluſions to ſtand, or fall, by their own weight. In that caſe, my preſent taſk had been much ſhortened, and eaſily accompliſhed. But really, Sir, the polemical part of your pamphlet, can do no great execution. Like female declamation, methodiſtical preaching, or the pouting of a child, the chief force of your eloquence lies in the tone of your voice. To follow you, however, through all the various modulations, inflections and vibration, of that tremulous TONE, would lead me a dance to which my patience and inclination render me extremely unequal. A few of your notes and ſhakes, are here and there juſt wild and turgid enough to merit a little correction. Apart from theſe I leave your OLD SONG, with all its novel airs and accompaniments, in full poſſeſſion of its charms.

MEAN

MEAN while, not to digreſs any further, for the ſake of digreſſion, I muſt beg leave to aſſert, though in flat contradiction to your hypotheſis, that the Americans are in no other ſenſe diſtinct from us, than as they live in cluſters at a very great diſtance. Otherwiſe, you might as well affirm, that when children are married, all their former friendſhips, relations, and obligations, are anihilated; or that the collateral branches of a family have no further dependance on, or intereſt in, the original ſtock. On your plan, indeed, the mere ſemblance of a connection is ſuppoſed ſtill to ſubſiſt; but ſo arbitrary and precarious on their ſide, and ſo utterly inſignificant and trifling on ours, that it deſerves to be called by no other name.—Strange! Have not emigrations been promiſcuous and general, from all parts of the united kingdoms? And is not GREAT BRITAIN for that reaſon the natural ROOT, and her colonies the obvious BRANCHES of ONE extenſive and undivided EMPIRE? From her alone they derive all that ſap and nouriſhment, to which they owe their preſent fair

fair and flouriſhing condition. Come then, Sir, let you and I, whatever ſhould be the ſentiments of an age over-run with venality and vice, join in our grateful acknowledgments to PROVIDENCE, that nothing can reach the vitals of the latter, which does not originate in the former, or prove ruinous to either, without being equally ſo to both.

You will not ſurely deny that ſupreme juriſdiction ought to be lodged ſomewhere. In the executive, apart from the other branches of legiſlature, it cannot poſſibly be lodged; for the King of Britain has no exiſtence independant of parliament, nor parliament independant of him: His ſovereignty is eſtabliſhed and legitimated by their authority, and all their powers and deciſions by his. They deviſe and enact, he authenticates and applies. The collective voice of the whole community is gathered by them, for the benefit of individuals, but receives from him alone that ſanction that gives it energy and weight. Indeed the whole extent of their influence is ſo reciprocal,

procal, ſo eſſentially and ultimately one, ſo habitually and uniformly involved, that they cannot be ſeparated, even in idea. On their indiſſoluble union, the glorious ſtructure of our divine conſtitution reſts. Deſtroy that UNION, and the Britiſh EMPIRE is no more.

IN a pamphlet, which inſtead of anſwering the maſterly and elegant reaſoning it diſcovers, you artfully ſtigmatize as "circulated "by government, with great induſtry," there is an idea ſo perfectly in point, that I muſt beg your attention to it. You know the performance is "*An Anſwer to the Declaration of* "*the General Congreſs*, who, he obſerves, "whilſt they affect to diſavow the ſupremacy "of the Britiſh legiſlature, acknowledge that "ſupremacy, perhaps through inadvertence, "in its utmoſt latitude. They own themſelves the ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain, yet it was the Britiſh legiſlature that "placed his majeſty, and his family on the "throne. Were the colonies repreſented in "the parliament, which limited the ſucceſſion

"of

" of the crown to the Houſe of Hanover,
" any more than they were in THAT which
" laid a paltry duty on tea, in the ports of
" America. His majeſty owes his throne to
" the laws of England, and as King, he can
" have no ſubject that is not bound by that
" law."

To you, Sir, it would ſeem the phraſe, PARENT STATE, is a very obnoxious one. The inſtance you quote, however, to counteract its MAGIC, is rather wide of the mark. Did the GERMAN ſtates diſcover Britain, for thoſe who took poſſeſſion of it—ſettle them under the ſanction of charters—take cognizance of their policy—fight their battles—defend their properties—protect their trade—No. There is not a ſingle circumſtance in the one caſe, parallel to thoſe in the other. Yet this you think ſufficient to ſupport a ſneer. Well, I muſt thank you for once, ſince ſneering in proportion, as ominous to your cauſe, muſt be auſpicious to mine.

STILL,

STILL, I muſt think with ſubmiſſion, that you have not ſufficiently conſidered the IDEA. Moſt certainly nature has eſtabliſhed a deference and obedience in children, to the inſtruments of their being, which no ſubſequent ſituation can wholly diſannul. And is not this enough to juſtify all the uſe that has been made of the figure? There is ſurely a point in which all compariſons fail, and he is at beſt but a ſorry CRITIC, who urges that very point as an inſtance of their impropriety.

THAT the Americans originated from us, were protected at our expence, and acknowledged their dependance on us till now, are facts equally allowed on all ſides. Nor can it be denied that their obligations to us are very great. We indeed were benefited by their trade, but were they not equally ſo by ours? Why then twit us eternally with an account, in which the balance is ſtill ſo much in our favour. Did they not give money only for value received. Or had they not dealt with us, ſhould we have had no other Cuſtomers. Our preſent

ſituation is a proof, they are not of that conſequence, even in this reſpect, their advocates would alledge. England was opulent and reſpectable, before America was known; and poſſibly might be ſo ſtill, though America was no more. We poſſeſs whatever a trading nation can wiſh. Our country abounds in commodities, which all our neighbours want. We are placed at a moſt convenient diſtance from them, as if deſtined, by a ſpecial providence, for their general market. Our merchants have a genius for buſineſs and enterprize, which no other merchants have. All the different branches of mechanics, and almoſt every kind of manufacture, are improved and carried on among us, to an extent not to be equalled, and by a patience not to be ſurmounted. Our Seas are the moſt navigable, our Shipping the fineſt, our Shores the ſafeſt, our Sailors the beſt, and our Harbours the moſt numerous, ſpacious, and commodious, in the known world. Indeed, we never did ſuffer much for want of commerce, ſince commerce became an object of public attention; and,

while

while a ſhilling is exchanged in Europe, there is not the leaſt doubt but we ſhall ſtill come in for our ſhare.

My information about the trade and revenue of America, is not ſufficiently perfect to render me a competent judge of many things you alledge on that point. Thoſe, however, who have no inferior intelligence, give a very different account of the matter. If the author quoted above may be truſted, what ſhall we ſay of your miſrepreſentations. "To this amaz-"ing ſum," ſays he, after eſtimating the expence America has coſt us, "might be ad-"ded the other expences of the two laſt wars. "The former of thoſe wars was undertaken "for the protection of American commerce, "or rather American ſmuggling, to the Spa-"niſh colonies. We entered into the latter, "for the defence of the coloniſts; we carried "it on for their ſecurity; and terminated it "for their ſole advantage. The two laſt "wars have coſt this country, at a moderate "computation, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY

" MILLIONS. To this extraordinary waſte of " treaſure, what can the colonies oppoſe to " ballance the account? Is it a languid com- " merce, which ſcarce makes its returns in " three years?

" WE have heard much of this commerce " from factious men, on both ſides of the " Atlantic. This is the mighty engine which " they wield over the heads of the ignorant; " the great bugbear with which they terrify " the timid. To eſtimate the value of the " American trade, with any degree of preci- " ſion, is impoſſible. The accounts kept in " the Cuſtom-houſe are no authorities. When " exports pay no taxes, no duty, a door is " opened to falſe entries. The vanity of " ſome merchants, the intereſt of others, too " frequently induce them to magnify beyond " meaſure the quantity of their export trade. " Beſides the merchantile abettors of Ame- " rican reſiſtance, though they ſerved the Co- " loniſts, whilſt they gratified their own pri- " vate views. We may conclude, that the

" com-

" commerce with North America, has been
" greatly over rated, as the total loſs of it
" has not affected this kingdom. We ought
" perhaps to aſcribe to its inſignificance, what
" we are taught to attribute to an increaſe in
" other channels of trade."

I expect to be reprobated, with many of my ſuperiors *, as a miniſterial hireling, though

* How ſtrangely, for example, has not Dr. JOHNSON's penſion been miſconſtrued? Some generous lover of letters and humanity, ſaw this Veteran of virtue and literature, exhauſted and grown grey in the ſervice, retiring, from neceſſity, without any proſpect of a decent retreat, in which to wear out the dregs of a life, uniformly devoted to the beſt intereſts of mankind, without the leaſt tranquility or comfort. True benevolence, will ever find means to exert itſelf. This friend of merit and genius, recommended the Dr. as an object of public concern. The Court thought him entitled to ſome indulgence. So muſt every man of taſte, in the leaſt acquainted with his writings and his worth. It is generally ſaid, however, by thoſe in oppoſition, that he was bought expreſsly to write in vindication of public meaſures. Would it not be more candid to preſume, his political Tracts were wrote, even ſuppoſing him wrong, from love to his country, and gratitude to his King. If you will not take his own word for his principles, how are they to be known? Of all other mortals, he is certainly leaſt

equally unknown to the miniſter, and the miniſter to me; and though many of my beſt friends are of the oppoſite party. But what contradictions will not a polemical temper reconcile. Take my word for it, Sir, I pretend not to juſtify the minutiæ of the Cabinet. Our preſent counſels, for aught I know, may be very exceptionable. Man is a blind, erroneous, blundering creature, at the beſt. But accountable, however, only for the intentions, not for the conſequences of his actions. The beſt of miniſters are but men; and you unwarily compliment them too much, in ſuppoſing them ſuperior to human frailty. In their ſituation, Sir, and teazed as they are by a crowd of inviduous Rivals, might not the violence of oppoſition often diſconcert you, ſometimes unhinge your temper, perhaps provoke you into obſtinacy. "WHATSOEVER YE "WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO "YE EVEN SO TO THEM,"—is a law which it ill becomes you to proſcribe.

leaſt to be ſuſpected, becauſe leaſt capable of deliberate falſhood.

THE

THE preſent exertions of government againſt the Colonies, are, in my opinion, both equitable and indiſpenſible in the higheſt degree. Had our juſt and moderate claims been granted, theſe exertions had never taken place. But why not ſpeak out? Intentions are beſt interpreted by action. America has long born us a grudge, and determined, from motives beſt known to themſelves, to affront us, and avow the affront in the face of Europe. But now, when matters are come to the laſt extremity, the complaint forſooth is, that they cannot take vengeance with impunity. The ſupremacy of parliament, but of late conteſted ‡, was aſſerted in ſome RECENT ACTS,

‡ "In matters of revenue, in commerce, in civil, in all "judicial regulations; in ſhort, with regard to the gene-"ral conſtitution of their government, the provinces of "North America, till taught otherwiſe by a diſappointed "faction in this kingdom, allowed, that the whole fabric "of their polity might be new modelled, and reformed, "by the ſuperintending power of parliament. In fact, it "has been ſo new modelled, and reformed, whenever "abuſes in the adminiſtration of their government, under "their civil polity, or the general intereſt of the Britiſh "Empire, made it neceſſary for parliament to interpoſe "its authority. Inſtances of this interpoſition, in both "caſes,

only in conſequence of a growing and manifeſt intention to diſclaim it. And yet they have the boldneſs to upbraid us with the few rigorous exertions which their own turbulent and refractory conduct extorted from us. What, in the name of common-ſenſe, is all this inſolence and uproar, this noiſe and nonſenſe, but FELONS arraigning their judges, and recriminating againſt the ſentence which LAW pronounces on their guilt.

THE policy and ſucceſs of the preſent war, muſt be referred, in a good meaſure, to futurity. I am not Conjuror enough to foretell what may happen. Many of your moſt alarming predictions, let me ſuppoſe, are hazarded at random. There is at leaſt a probability of your being as much out in conjectures, as you ſometimes are in reckoning.

" caſes, preſent themſelves, in almoſt every volume of the " Statutes, from the Reſtoration down to the preſent " reign; yet the Americans falſely inſinuate, that it was " in the preſent reign, the exerciſe of the authority of " parliament, except only in the regulation of trade, " firſt commenced."

BE that as it may, the Deſtinies ſeem determined that force alone ſhall decide the quarrel. The CHALLENGE is given, and accepted; and we have nothing for it but either fight or flee. To preſerve the loyalty of our own ſubjects—not to extend domination over foreigners, is the great object of all our preſent preparations. Theſe preparations muſt be expenſive, but who are to blame? Where did the meaſures that occaſion them originate? Who ſtimulated the Americans to revolt? Who cauſed and fomented that lying and licentious ſpirit of madneſs and miſchief, which at this time fumes and rages, from the extremities, to the center of the kingdom? Point them out, in God's name, and ſacrifice them, if you will, to the fury of a blind, miſguided nation.

BUT really, Sir, all this is foreign to the queſtion. There are none, either ſo ignorant, or fooliſh, as not to think we ſhall be loſers on this occaſion. The Americans, as well as we, are certain they ſhall. They perſiſt, however, in hoſtilities. An idea has poſſeſſed

them for which they are willing to ſacrifice their all. If our convictions be as ſtrong, why not act from them with equal vigour? Undoubtedly, eaſe, and wealth, and men, are dear to us; but certain things called dignity and honour are ſtill dearer, becauſe the former are unattainable, or infamous, without the latter. Should we now "think of nothing but a retreat," would not the ſame dæmon, who kindled the flame of rebellion, ſnatch every future opportunity of embroiling us into new miſchief, and make us pay ſeverely for our folly. No ſociety can ſubſiſt long, while the principles of diſobedience are cheriſhed in her boſom. On your hypotheſis, would not this be our caſe. And that ſociety, like the miſer who plunders his belly to feed his avarice, muſt be paltry indeed, who ſcruples the unavoidable expence of her own well-being. Nor do I ſee, for my life, how your ſcheme could take place. To whom, as things are now diſpoſed, could you make propoſals? Lord Lyttelton's hint to this purpoſe, is enough, methinks, to ſhut the wideſt mouth, and huſh

the

the loudeſt patriotic pipe in the kingdom? Go to the Generals who lord it over the Continent, and they ſhall probably refer you to the congreſs. But, in treating with them, you tacitly inveſt them with every power they aſſume; legitimate a convention you have ſo juſtly and frequently reprobated, ſtigmatize yourſelves, and exculpate them with a witneſs.

Is there not ſomething ſtrangely romantic and captious, Sir, in denying our title to the land on which the Americans originally ſettled. It is rather too late now though, let me tell you, to ſtart ſuch a plea. Nor could an idea ſo extravagantly whimſical, have found a place any where, but in a mind perfectly inflamed, and laying about her with all imaginable wildneſs, to juſtify ſome violent propoſition. On the ſame levelling principles, however, every ſpecies of property is leſs, or more, diſputable. And you have the peculiar honour, Sir, by introducing your NATURAL RIGHTS into the very heart of artificial life; of reverſing the preſent ſcene of things, placing the

heels of ſociety, as SWIFT ſays, where her head ſhould be; pointing out the Rich as lawful game for the Poor; arming envy with power, and letting looſe the rude unprincipled crowd, on the world at large.

TELL me, Sir, are not all new diſcoveries veſted in the crown, or to whom elſe can they belong? Without this ſuppoſition, no charter, or deed of conveyance, is worth a farthing. The King is equally the original proprietor of all the parts of the empire. You may, if you will, derive his claim from the people in general; but theirs, as individuals, are uniformly derived from him. Here all grants originate, and juſtice is adminiſtered in his name. His univerſal intereſt in the lives and properties of his people, renders all their injuries his. Hence the LAW conſiders him as a party in every proſecution. In this capacity the conſtitution directs us to claim him as our Father and Protector; as our Umpire and our Judge. America has hitherto done ſo, as well as we. Her inhabitants acknowledge

ledge it even now by calling themſelves his ſubjects. Indeed to yield this point, is to yield the diſpute.

You ſuppoſe a diſtinction, with all the reſt of the grumbling tribe, between external and internal taxation. Here again your thread is much too finely ſpun for my weak ſight. That the ſame ſupreme power which regulates the trade, ſhould not alſo ſuperintend the policy of America, is to me inconceivable. Is not the property they neceſſarily have in their trade, as inſeparably connected with their liberty, as any part of their internal legiſlation whatever. I fancy in this inſtance, as in the whole of the American policy, I ſee more cunning than candour, more inſidious artifice than real honeſty. Judge of their profeſſions by their actions. The truth is they equally diſliked our interference in both reſpects, but as they could have no commerce without our protection, were willing perhaps to wink at the little advantage we derived from that quarter, at leaſt for a time,

rather

rather than be expoſed to the lawleſs rapacity of pirates.

In the whole of this diſpute, Sir, you diſcover a ſtrong inclination to avoid thoſe general maxims, on which the intire fabric of Engliſh, and indeed, every ſort of ſound policy depends: For no other reaſon, perhaps, but that the more minute the line is, which you endeavour to deſcribe, we are the more likely to miſtake cavilling for argument, and refinement for philoſophy. In truth, Sir, ſuch is the imbecility of our common nature, that no branch of human conduct can well bear diſſection. Nor do our minds ſeem at all framed for inveſtigating the endleſs diviſibility of things. We arrive only at certainty and conviction in Science of all kinds, in proportion, as our ideas become ſimple, and general. To particulariſe in moſt caſes, is to err. Hence truths of the greateſt importance are commonly moſt obvious. The moment, therefore, an opponent ſhifts ſelf-evident propoſitions, for circumlocution and detail,

tail, depend upon it, truth is not ſo much his object as victory. And the cauſe which cannot be ſupported on general principles, like actions that evade the light, muſt be a bad one. Metaphyſics have given arms to ſophiſtry in all ages, and in politics, as well as in moſt other ſciences, the damage ſhe has done is equally incredible and ſhocking.

It is ſurely ludicrous enough, Sir, to find you talk ſo wantonly, and with ſo much gravity at the ſame time, about what you call the "luſt of dominion." Alas, Sir, every word you have ſaid on the ſubject, is to me a ſtriking proof that pride is an eſſential ingredient in every ſort of human compoſition. Are you not frequently ſuſpicious yourſelf of ſpeaking rather too haughtily, and with too much confidence for that humbleneſs of mind you ſo fervently recommended. The point is at leaſt diſputable. Men of undoubted abilities and undoubted veracity, have ſtarted and continued firm on both ſides of the ſubject. And though I ſhould be far from wiſhing you or any man

man alive to give up the rights of private judgment, certainly ſome deference is due to great and reſpectable authority. Is not a certain degree of pyrrhoniſm eſſential to the genius of liberal and manly diſquiſition. An honeſt reaſoner will aſſert his connections with firmneſs, but not without modeſty. He only writes in the true taſte, and temper, and ſtyle of a philoſopher, who allows his readers the ſame latitude of thinking he aſſumes to himſelf. Moſt political theories, Sir, like moral ones, are capable only of preſumptive evidence. And if with all your ſkill in computation, you are ſometimes caught tripping, where the ſtricteſt demonſtration is practicable, have you not ſome reaſon to be diffident and cautious where it is not?

THERE is you muſt allow a conſciouſneſs of dignity, as well as a love of power inherent in the nature of man. But true greatneſs is often not leſs conſpicuous in acts of condeſcenſion, than in exertions of authority. I am not certain though, but generoſity of this kind, however

ever laudable in individuals, might be conſidered as puſillanimity in a ſtate. You are accountable to none in the one caſe, in the other a truſt is repoſed in you, which requires an inflexible attachment to what is right; nor admits in a ſingle inſtance, however plauſible, the indulgence of your own inclination. Your private property is wholly, unleſs where the public intereſt interferes, in your own power; and you may certainly give it to whom, and on what condition you pleaſe; but in the capacity of delegates, as you cannot poſſibly know preciſely the diſpoſition of all your conſtituents, there is no other medium, no other line you can purſue with ſafety, but that of the pureſt equity. So that maxims taken from human nature, as exhibited in individuals and groups of mankind, are juſt as different as nature and art; and for that reaſon cannot either be framed, or applied indiſcriminately, without a manifeſt confuſion of ideas.

By contraſting the preſent miniſter with a former one, much has been ſaid to decry his

abilities. That his conceptions are partial and narrow; that his ſchemes are ſelfiſh and head-ſtrong; and that a ſpirit of bigotry and dogmatiſm, marks all his meaſures; with endleſs impertinences of the ſame kind, have been long the common place talk of his Lordſhip's enemies. His ſteady perſeverance in a certain plan of operations, and the generous contempt he diſcovers for all the little, infamous, and ſneaking tricks of popularity, which characteriſed the motions of the great political Rhetorician, who now roars and raves in empty pomp and parade, at the head of the grunting department, are, however, no ſtriking indications of fickleneſs, or timidity. And, I am firmly perſuaded, did he think it for the public intereſt to adopt pacific meaſures; to drop all our claims on America; and to reſcind every obnoxious act that has paſſed concerning them, ſo far as his influence extends, he would moſt certainly exert it for that purpoſe. But, Sir, you ought to remember, that his opinion, on theſe points, is totally different from yours; and that, as an honeſt man, his conduct

duct muſt therefore be different too. Magnanimity and generoſity are mighty ſounds, and like the tinſeled drapery of ſtate, dazzle the purblind crowd exceedingly. What you call GREAT VIEWS, however, in this inſtance, muſt, in his apprehenſion be a mean compliance with the inſidious voice of a faction, treachery to his country, and treaſon to his prince. The public have now before them, ſpecimens of both your abilities; and were they mean enough to admit the compariſon, your pride is not certainly quite ſo extravagant as to expect the preference.

AMBITION, we all know is one of the firſt and ſtrongeſt feelings of the human heart. Every excellence that exalts, every grace that adorns, every deformity that degrades our natures, is leſs, or more, connected with this paſſion. Hence we will not tamely put up with affronts—we will not be inſulted—we will not be injured. Our minds were not repleniſhed with ſo many iraſcible and indignant feelings and ſentiments as they are, for nought. We

are placed in a ſituation extremely hoſtile and obnoxious to depredation, from every quarter. We muſt therefore not only act frequently on the defenſive, but to render our defence the more effectual, ſometimes make repriſals. And there is juſt as much more generoſity in retaliating public, than private wrongs; as it is more generous to protect the property of others than our own. The plain and obvious conſequence is, that our preſent war with America, is founded in juſtice and honour. Have they not invaded the rights of the Empire, defied her authority, violated her laws, diſclaimed her juriſdiction, and with horrid temerity, pointed the parricidious dagger to her breaſt! Start from your ſlumbers, ye generous ſons of freedom. Be no longer the infatuated tools of mutiny and diſcord, or indifferent to the welfare of your country, which bleeds at every pore, from the hands of thoſe who owe her the higheſt obligations! Demonſtrate, by immediate exertion, that your ties to her, are the firſt and ſtrongeſt of all others; that her intereſts, her feelings, her

enemies

enemies are yours; and that there is no life ſo precious, no relation ſo dear, no conſideration ſo valuable, as you would not relinquiſh for her ſake. Has ſhe not fed you with her very vitals, and loaded you with every bleſſing which the heart of man can either wiſh or enjoy? The power of vindicating her honour, of reſtoring her dignity, is lodged in your hands, as a truſt for which you are reſponſible to mankind, to poſterity, to heaven. That honour, that dignity, is now at ſtake; and to you ſhe looks up for aſſiſtance. And what mind, that ever felt the noble emotions of liberty, or ever glowed with conſcious elevation from an intereſt in our glorious conſtitution, does not take fire, and repel, with indignation, the perfidy of her colonies. Is ſhe not abandoned, abuſed, diſgraced, and torn to pieces by thoſe who own themſelves her ſons; who boaſt of being your brethren. Treat them therefore as they have treated her—as they would have treated you. Deteſted be the artifices, the ſophiſtry, the delicacy that would ſtifle your reſentment. Whatever their connection

nection with you is, or has been, their treaſonable practices, ſufficiently juſtify every thing you can do againſt them.

I AM no advocate for ſlaughter and devaſtation, but firmly and deeply perſuaded that the beſt way to prevent the effuſion of blood on this occaſion is by ſome great and ſudden exertion, to ſtrike an immediate and deciſive blow. For this end, let us by all means agree among ourſelves. Unanimity at home, would give ſpirit and vigour to our operations abroad. Have they not profited by our diviſions? We heſitate and tremble, while they threaten and act. They took advantage of the dilatory meaſures carried on againſt them. And what with our feeble efforts at the beginning, the dullneſs of our movements afterwards, and a thouſand other things in their favour, they have now got time to look about them, to plan their future conduct, to gather their forces and diſcipline their troops, and are determined to diſpute with us every inch of ground. Shall we then who have ſo long given

given law to other ſtates, relinquiſh the government of our own? Shall it be ſaid that THE REBELS IN AMERICA have done what all our other enemies together never could do? Are the moſt dangerous enemies of our national dignity and importance, to brave us in this manner to our very face? Are not all mankind as much and as literally our brethren as they are? And who would not defend their lives, or ſomething dearer to them than their lives, againſt the beſt relation on earth. Have not the Americans run to arms, dared us to the field, and fought with a ſavageneſs * un-

* The following account from the ſame Pamphlet above quoted, which has never been called in queſtion, is enough to make ones blood run chill:—" It were," ſay he, " to " be wiſhed for the honour of the inſurgents, that their " barbarous cruelty to the wounded ſoldiers were more " problematical than their firing firſt on the King's troops. " The ſoldiers who fell by the firſt fire of the rebels, were " found ſcalped when the detachment returned from Con- " cord to Lexington Bridge. Two ſoldiers who lay " wounded on the field, and had been ſcalped by the ſa- " vage Provincials, were ſtill breathing. They appeared, " by the traces of blood, to have rolled in the agonies of " this horrid ſpecies of death, ſeveral yards from the place " where they had been ſcalped. Near theſe unfortunate " men,

known to Europeans. And ſhall the hackneied words LIBERTY, TAXATION, PRIVILEGE, and I know not what ſtale and inſignificant ſtuff, charm us forſooth into a criminal connivance with their guilt? Methinks I ſee the poor diſtreſſed Genius of injured Britain, lifting up her head under all the viſible emotions of maternal anguiſh, and hear her in a tone that thrills through my whole frame, adopting the language of YORK in the Play;

I have had feelings of my Couſin's wrongs,
And labour'd all I could to do him right:
But, in this kind, to come in braving arms,
Be his own carver, and cut out his way
To find out right with wrongs, it may not be;
And you that do abet him in this kind,
Cheriſh rebellion and are rebels all.

"men, another dreadful object preſented itſelf. A ſol-
"dier who had been ſlightly wounded appeared with his
"eyes torn out of their ſockets, by the barbarous mode of
"GOAGING, a word and practice peculiar to the Ameri-
"cans. Humanity forbids us to dwell longer on this
"ſcene of horror. The rebels to break the force of accu-
"ſation begin to recriminate. They laid ſeveral inſtances
"of wanton cruelty to the charge of the troops, yet no-
"thing is better aſcertained, than that not one of the ſol-
"diers ever quitted the road either upon their march or
"return from Concord."

NOTHING

NOTHING awakens human reſentment ſo quickly, or blows it into a fiercer flame than tenderneſs abuſed. The conduct of Britain to her Colonies, has hitherto proceeded on the mildeſt principles. And if ſhe loſe them now, they are loſt by indulgence. After rejecting every propoſal made them, undervaluing the moſt ſalutary plans that could be deviſed for their welfare, and running with unbridled ferocity wherever DISCORD led them on, all the puniſhment inflicted was a temporary ſuſpenſion of their trade at one of their ports. An expedient ſo full of tenderneſs and lenity, ſhould have opened their eyes to their true intereſt, and muſt certainly have produced the beſt effects on minds not already poſſeſſed of diſloyal principles. But they have conſtantly grown inſolent and inſufferable by indulgence, and in proportion as government has relaxed the reins, raiſed a clamour about their privileges. For notwithſtanding your confident aſſertions, there is too much reaſon to ſuſpect that ideas of a ſeparate independance have been long and gene-

rally entertained, in that quarter of the globe, There are not wanting turbulent and ambitious ſpirits among them, as well as among us. Their declarations in the negative are good for nothing, while they ſpeak in a ſtile ſo foreign to their hearts. Perhaps the example of Corſica in ſtruggling againſt the whole power of France, is ſtill freſh in their memories. For every encomium made on that brave people, and indeed on every brave people that have oppoſed tyranny and oppreſſion, we are told they arrogate to themſelves. The mob, wild and headſtrong as it is, an everlaſting dupe to factious villany, miſtake and circulate the breathings of ſedition for the dictates of freedom. Thus to eſtabliſh independence as an eſſential and preparatory ſtep to uſurpation and dominion, is the obvious bait by which their evil genius tempts them to deſtruction. Stimulated and goaded onward by this aſpiring and pernicious principle, they have hitherto been deaf to every term of accommodation; and returned all the kind conciliatory ſolicitations of the parent ſtate with unparallelled

leled and unpardonable temerity and rage. Tell us, Britons, from whom would you have borne ſuch treatment? Yet, like the whole of that infernal race who delight moſt in tumult and uproar, grievances are ſtill enumerated, and injuries imagined and magnified without number and without end:

> Fire in each eye and paper in each hand,
> They rave, recite, and madden round the land.

EXERT the reaſonable faculties God hath given you, and aſk your own hearts, who has moſt reaſon to be offended, America becauſe Britain will not relinquiſh her natural property, or Britain becauſe America would force it from her? At this moment the whole Continent boils with rebellion, and breathes the hotteſt and moſt implacable revenge. Old and young are in arms to diſengage themſelves from our protection and care. There is now no time to loſe. We muſt either ſubdue or ſubmit, conquer or cringe to their obſtinacy. Our fate is wiſely placed, by Providence, in our own exertion. The poſt to which we are called at this period, can neither be ſuſtained

without hazard, nor relinquiſhed without ruin. Let us act our part, perilous and important as it is, with intrepidity and perſeverance; otherwiſe our defeat, our ignominy, perhaps our deſtruction is inevitable. Believe me Enthuſiaſts are not to be truſted. They have no moral princples at all, and every feeling of humanity is dead within them. We are henceforth conſidered by them as lawful prize, and they will undoubtedly catch every advantage to glut their unnatural vengeance. Men who fight more from impulſe than reaſon, and are guided rather by blind temerity than regular diſcipline, are the moſt inhuman of all victors. I pray God may pity all who ſhall fall into their hands, for their tendereſt mercies are at beſt but horrid cruelty.

You are ſo fond of American virtue, Sir, that the thought never comes acroſs you, but you burſt out into the moſt extravagant eulogiums. For my own part, now, I have quite a different idea of them. Is not that Piety which does not cheer and elevate the mind,

mind, which does not ſweeten and exhale the affections, which does not mellow down the whole frame, mend the morals and embelliſh the life, a thouſand times worſe than none at all? But, Sir, do examine them a little by this ſentiments. Their profeſſed tenets are famous for gilding a rotten heart, a ſulky temper, and a hollow practice. They pray, God knows, a great deal; and if we may take their own word for it, FAST ſometimes too. Are they then proportionably kind and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, ſocial, humane, and friendly among themſelves, punctual in diſcharging their debts, good neighbours and peaceable ſubjects? All Europe knows they are quite the reverſe. The negro trade is a trait in their complexion which chills humanity with horror, and covers chriſtianity with confuſion and ſhame. The blackeſt treaſon rankles their breaſts, while devotion ſhades their faces, and rebellion fumes in thier hearts, at the ſame time that religion hangs on their tongues. They have got a jumble of abſtractions among them which they think orthodox, merely becauſe unintelligible, which

which is all ſound and ſyſtem without either reality or life, and which is not half ſo much connected with the Goſpels as with Ariſtotle's Categorics. Beſides every thing ſacred and divine they moſt ſhamefully proſtitute, to countenance, and authorize, and excite an inflexible oppoſition, where the moſt cordial ſubmiſſion is their indiſpenſible duty. To tell you the truth, Sir, I would much rather the characteriſtic of a people were any thing than HYPOCRICY, and this has long been theirs. The TEA RIOT, and many ſuch like, are inſtances how archly they can pray and plunder at the ſame time. Indeed, by all the accounts that have yet tranſpired of their general temper and ſpirit, they ſeem to have light, without heat; faith, without love; hope, without charity; believe, but obey not the truth; ſay much, but do nothing; are every where ſpeaking well of religion, but ill of one another; perpetually chiming the greateſt of all truths, and as perpetually diſhonouring them in their practice. They may have pride enough, poſſibly parts too, and preſumption

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in abundance, but want that modeſty and candour, that genuine rectitude of mind, which unites the moſt liberal and generous ſentiments, with an open undiſguiſed ſingleneſs of heart. In ſhort, we may know well what they are, from their genius for ſtratagem and intrigue, by the reſervation they affect, and the ſtarchneſs they put on.

We allow you ſee with you, Sir, that they may be FASTING and PRAYING from one end of North America to the other. But does it follow, though we ridicule them as Fanatics, that we ſcoff at religion? Sir, we could well have ſpared all this harſh, unnatural, acrimonious nonſenſe. There is not a Briton or an American either, who durſt have lifted up his head for his life in the other hemiſphere, and ſaid half ſo much againſt them, as you ſay againſt us. And yet our liberty is loſt, our credit exhauſted, our religion ruined, our lives in danger; and we are all, with one conſent, running headlong to perdition; while they in compariſon, free, and rich, and pious,

and

and ſafe, are ſo ſure of Heaven in this, that they need hardly go to another world in queſt of it. What an aſtoniſhing perverſion of facts and ideas will not a mind tinged with party prejudice diſcover! Surely this country has already had enough of canting; and I truſt in Heaven, that bloody inſatiate ſpirit, who raged ſo cruelly ſometime ago, is now quaſhed for ever. With all our diverſions, gambling, and maſquerades, have we not ſtill much ſincerity, honeſty, generoſity and beneficence. And are not theſe virtues more honourable to human nature, and of greater utility to ſociety, than all the ſullen features, lank faces and melancholy ſighs which the moſt artful hypocriſy can affect. Our wealth and luxury muſt engender levities, follies, and improprieties of all ſorts, and among all ranks, juſt as neceſſarily as the ſtrongeſt ſoils produce the moſt noxious weeds along with the fineſt plants. But theſe natural and unavoidable excreſences of national opulence and grandeur, with every ſpecies of publick amuſement, have ever been odious and execrable to the taſteleſs and phlegmatic,

matic, and are uniformly uſed by all candidates for low popularity, as means of ſecuring the good graces of the vulgar. For envy is the prevailing diſpoſition of the baſeſt minds, and you can never pleaſe them better than by an inſolent and malicious abuſe of high life.

THINK me not impertinent, Sir, in aſſuring you, that with all the fuſs you make about religion, the bulk of your performance ſtrikes me, as a cenſure on PROVIDENCE. Your circumſtances in life afford no external reaſon, at leaſt, of complaint. Yet, where do you ſpeak the language of a mind at eaſe? In the midſt of domeſtic comfort, ſurrounded with the ſweeteſt endearments of ſociety, and in full poſſeſſion of whatever a wiſe man could wiſh, is this growling grateful; this the piety for which your character is ſo venerable? I thought your ideas of religion had been liberal and rational, if not preciſe and maſterly; but hang the ideas, ſay I, that puts a man out of good humour. Let thoſe who ſee nothing

amiable or comely in all the ſmiling face of creation, to whom the moſt beautiful and ſublime forms are uniformly diſtorted, whoſe minds habitually ſettle on the darkeſt ſide of things, whoſe hearts are blinded, and benumbed by the conſtant agitation of a ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſoul, live in perpetual terror, and give way to every black and diſmal apprehenſion. But, Sir, how very unbeſeeming muſt not this diſpoſition appear in a Teacher of that religion which breathes eternal uninterrupted comfort to human kind. For my own part, if the ſuffrage of the public is not to be obtained by any other means than the abject artifices of croaking in their ears, wounding their quiet, and rouſing their pity, inſtead of convincing their judgments; I equally deſpiſe the cauſe, and bluſh for its advocates.

THERE is a people juſt now in my eye who have been ever famous for their attachment to liberty. That people, like us, are opulent and powerful, and what muſt recommend them much

much to you, Sir, they are juſt as mad againſt government as you can be. Their general taſte I have often thought, however, the moſt prepoſterous and unaccountable phenomena that human nature has yet exhibited. Religion is ſo much the faſhion among them, that almoſt every man and woman too has one of their own, and yet, they beheaded the moſt pious prince ever they had, abuſe the moſt decent, and univerſally abhor the MINISTER, in proportion to the purity of his morals, and the probity of his life. Their METROPOLIS the capital of an empire which extends to both ſides of the globe, to which all men of genius repair, where the nobles reſide, where the laws are adminiſtred, where the great national aſſembly ſits, where the royal palace ſtands, and the King keeps his court; has notwithſtanding ſelected her prime Favourite the moſt worthleſs and abandoned fellow in the kingdom. One would imagine, from this ſingular Fact, that huſbands connived at the infidelity of their wives, that parents had a plot on the chaſtity of their daughters, that

maſters conſented to the ruin of their ſervants and apprentices, and that fathers had no objections to ſee their ſons turn out prodigals, and ſpendthrifts. The very Ladies ſmitten, with the ſame mental delirium, puff this old infamous Lecher with inceſſant encomiums, wherever they go. In vain you remonſtrate againſt their indelicate and imprudent approbation of a man, who has repeatedly blaſphemed the moſt ſacred realities of their creed, who ſtigmatiſes their ſex, as the opprobrium of nature's work, who by never diſcharging a debt he owes, avows himſelf the public plunderer of private property, who profeſſedly tramples on the tendereſt delicacies of domeſtic life, ſports with all the attachments of the heart, mocks at every thing dear and grateful to humanity, and is withal, one of the ugliest ſquinting ſhriveled ill looking wretches in nature. How different the taſte of theſe rude romantic amazonian Females, from that of ours! But their philoſophy, the ſtrangeſt jumble of incoherencies that ever debauched human brains, reconciles them to every thing,

teaches

teaches them to diſtinguiſh between what they call public and private virtue, and to praiſe and flatter this CREATURE, merely becauſe his rude unhallowed tongue has laſhed every perſon in power, and been inſolently wagged in the very face of Majeſty. No wonder theſe peculiarities render them an object of perpetual ridicule to neighbouring nations, that their young men are averſe to matrimony, while a moſt notorious Rake is ſo much admired and careſſed by their young girls; and that a city, not inferior to London in any other reſpect, ſhould yet be conſidered as the moſt deſpicable of all cities, while the worſt citizen is ſupreme magiſtrate, and dares, with an effrontery and ſuffrage ſhocking to every virtuous ſtranger, aſpire at the moſt lucrative office in their gift. How fortunate for us, Sir, that we are not yet arrived at ſuch a pitch of public infamy, that our liberty is not degenerated into licentiouſneſs, that our felicity is ſtill equal to our affluence, that individuals concern themſelves only in their own buſineſs, that our religious teachers, are not ſo anxious to reform

man-

mankind in politics as in morals; and that no preciſe pragmatic Pedant among them, has yet dared to ſtep beyond the verge of his own profeſſion, and take cognizance of national affairs, dictate with an air of ſupercilious importance to his ſuperiors, and publiſh with a very high degree of approbation, an elaborate ſyſtem of the SPLEEN. But if in this predicting age, I too muſt fall a prophecying for public good; and if my feeble voice could be heard amidſt the vulgar clamour which rattles and rumbles ſo inceſſantly in my ears, I would foretell that Britain ſhall loſe her liberty when villains are more careſſed than honeſt men, when ſhowy talents catch the general taſte more than real worth, when politics are taught behind the counter, and become the common jargon of the STEWS, when the pulpit dictates to the throne, and Ladies, forgetting the ſoftneſs of their ſex, turn public patriots. When the conſtitution is loſt in a general eagerneſs to preſerve it, and when every pert Arithmetician will bolt on public notice, aſſume the management of our finances,

and

and with equal impudence and parade, like other dunces of immortal memory, blunder and bluſter round about a meaning.

Now we totter, but then ſhall we tumble to pieces. And theſe times, however diſtant and unexpected, may yet come; but woe unto the age when, the meaſures through which, and the perſons by whom they do.

I ADMIT your declamation in all its force, when directed againſt the general profligacy of the times. It is an obſervation which all hiſtory confirms, that the manners of mankind ſeldom or never improve with their circumſtances. We appear indeed with moſt advantage diveſted of all that auſterity and roughneſs which characteriſe the ſpecies in a ſtate of pure uncultivated nature. There is a period, however, in the hiſtory of ſociety, when arts of civilization have quite oppoſite tendency. Then public ſpirit and true patriotiſm abate in proportion as the love of eaſe is indulged, and mere exterior poliſh cultivated.

Luxury

Luxury, the laſt ſcourge by which offended Heaven viſits the guilt of nations, and which a certain writer ſtiles, "THE BOSOM OF DESTRUCTION", ſuppreſſes every human virtue, and rears in their room a cluſter of the rankeſt vices that can ſink and debaſe the mind of man. But does all this degeneracy originate in the cabinet? Are the ſervants of the public ſolely accountable for its immorality? Few courts in Europe are more innocent perhaps, none more decent than ours. Yet, to read your elaborate accuſations, one would imagine that our civil officers were public robbers; his Majeſty a mercileſs tyrant, our MINISTERS a cabal of inſatiable deſpots, and the whole patriotic tribe reſpectively diſtinguiſhed by the moſt unblemiſhed probity, honour, and every other public and private virtue that marks the great man, and the good citizen. But ſurely Sir, arguments drawn from the corruption of the age, can be urged with no very good grace by either party. For though many individuals on both ſides poſſeſs the higheſt merit both of head and heart, there are ſtill, God knows

knows, but too many who can boaſt of neither.

Most of what you ſay concerning the honour of the nation, as affected by this war, is mere rhodomontade, and a new proof "that "you are not willing to omit any topic which "you think of great conſequence, merely be-"cauſe it has already been diſcuſſed". This obſervation might furniſh me a large enough fund of remark, were I inclined to preſume as much on my readers patience as you do. Hardly one idea you throw out in the whole of this ſection affords you a new thought. Whether you argue from principles of dignity or prudence, from the motives on which, or the manner in which the affairs of the cabinet are now conducted, all you ſay is equally trite and diſputable. According to you there is no meanneſs in bowing with humble ſubjection to the will of America, no weakneſs in yielding up a claim of which all Europe acknowledges the equity; no ignominy in allowing one part of the empire to perk rebel-

lion in the face of another! But things have long ſince changed their name. It is not the nation, but the miniſter that is concerned in the preſent war,—it is not the laws but a junto that govern—it is not rebellion, but a love of liberty that inſpires the provincials—and it is not an attachment to public welfare, but a diſpoſition to increaſe the power of the crown, that influences our counſels.

Do you really think now, Sir, that the inſtances to which you refer are at all applicable in the preſent caſe. Were the CORSICANS under as many great and laſting obligations to the GENOESE, the UNITED PROVINCES to SPAIN, the SYRACUSANS to the ATHENIANS, or the ALLIED STATES OF ITALY to ROME, as the Americans are to us? Every allowance ſhould be made for the influence of a party ſpirit; but no man in the ſober uſe of his reaſon, who knows any thing of the matter, can anſwer this quere in the affirmative. You muſt therefore, if you would deal fairly by the public, either ac-

acknowledge the impropriety of this reference, or ſhow them to what purpoſe it was made.

You derive much hope againſt the ſucceſs of your country, from the daring courage of the rebels. It has not yet however, been ſufficiently brought to the teſt, to juſtify your extravagant encomiums. All the world knows we are naturally too phlegmatic to atchieve any thing capital till rouſed; but then, whatever we ſhould do now, our exertions for the moſt part have hitherto ſucceeded. Indeed, you may puff the rebels as much as you pleaſe, but the ſingle circumſtance of ſuffering ſuch a petty handful of our men to poſſeſs Boſton the whole winter unmoleſted, is no ſuch ſtriking inſtance of their bravery, as it is of your ſtrong inclination to exaggerate on the one hand, and extenuate on the other.

Nothing in your whole book, Sir, has raiſed more grumbling in the minds of the people, or aſſimilated them more to your own temper, thanyour account of the national debt. Your acquaintance with numbers has procured

you much of the public confidence, and in return for their indulgence, you thus make uſe of that circumſtance to croud and terrify their minds with ideas of a public bankruptcy.

HERE again, Sir, you purpoſely wander from the ſubject, or to admit a connection between what you ſay and our preſent exertions, is in other words to admit, that none of your preliminary aſſertions can be refuted; that our diſpute with the colonies, to ſay no worſe, is perfectly trifling, and that on our part; at leaſt, it may be very profitablyyielded. Now, Sir, all this we deny juſt as poſitively as you affirm. Thus while we think our reaſoning as ſtrong as you can think yours, muſt we not conſider your detail as equally futil and officious alike illtimed and illintended: For if the preſent war be juſt, no apprehended expence ought to deter us from puſhing it with vigour. Did foreigners attack us now, could the preſent ſtate of our national debt be thought a reaſon why we ſhould not defend ourſelves? And are not rebels of all kinds the moſt in-

fernal

infernal and deſperate enemies that can poſſibly aſſail ſociety.

ALL taxation ought to be raiſed and regulated by the neceſſity of the ſtate on the one hand, and that of the ſubject on the other. The one ſhould not be diſtreſſed, while the other can afford relief; nor THIS unneceſſarily burthened to gratify the capricious whims of thoſe who have the direction of THAT. The policy is at leaſt ſuſpicious, wherever perſonal comfort and national dignity are found incompatible.

THE effects, not the fountains of wealth, are the proper ſubjects of taxation. Property is the moſt indeterminate and fleeting VANITY, the moſt ſtable and viſible thing in exiſtence. Drink as liberally of the ſtream as you will, but always take care not to dry up the ſpring

TAXATION is generally practicable in proportion as little felt by the poor. This ſort of

of miniſterial popularity is the more laudable, as it lays the yoke on the necks of thoſe who are moſt able to bear it, as it ſecures and promotes induſtry by encouraging the laborious; and as, by ſoothing the lower orders of mankind, it effectually ſilences thoſe, apart from whom, the diſcord of others gives very little diſturbance. A combination between the middle ranks of life and the loweſt, againſt government, is never without a certain degree of danger. All true policy conſiſts in accommodating the humours of different individuals, and different claſſes, to the general advantage of the whole Community.

ACCORDING to theſe principles, which ſeem congenial to the Britiſh Conſtitution, in ſuch a wealthy country as this, the dreadful emergency, you foreſee, Sir, can hardly ever take place. The pride of life will always diſcover the rich. And while luxury branches out into ſo many ludicrous forms, the MINISTER can never be at a loſs for a new tax. Suppoſing the ruin of our credit unavoidable on the preſent

ſent movement of things, would it not be inſtantly changed for ſome other one, leſs expenſive, however leſs convenient? You dare not harbour a doubt that every expedient would not then be tried to prevent, if poſſible, ſuch a general calamity. In ſhort, notwithſtanding all you have alledged, ſhould the reduction of America end in the reduction of Britain, I am of opinion we ought now to hazard every thing, rather than relinquiſh it. Allow their claims without reſtriction, and we ſhall ſoon hear complaints, petitions, remonſtrances, and arms, from every quarter of the kingdom. Sedition thus cheriſhed and careſſed by multitudes in the very bowels of the ſtate, would then ſtalk abroad in open day, and wherever we turned our eyes inſolently baul aloud liberty and rebellion in our face. If this be what you mean by freedom, I wiſh all the enemies of Britain their fill of it. Nor could I wiſh them a greater curſe, or her a greater bleſſing.

I SHOULD be glad to know, Sir, what good purpoſe it can ſerve at this time of day, to blab theſe

theſe things abroad, or harp on a ſtring ſo grating to the public ear, while principles of loyalty and unanimity are ſo eſſential and indiſpenſible to public welfare. Is not the great man who reſides at the head of the treaſury, whom you compliment in one place and abuſe in the other, as much ſkilled in theſe matters as you? May it not be preſumed, that he knows the eſtimate of the preſent war better than moſt others, and what the nation is able to bear, not leſs at leaſt than Dr. PRICE? And why ſhould he wantonly haſten a period in which his own ruin is as certain as that of others; or ſink a ſhip in which he muſt inevitably periſh with the paſſengers? Perhaps you expected to put him out of countenance, or blow him up with his friends:—ſoftly, my good Sir,—Was it likely, that he who has ſtood the brunt of every rude and deſperate declaimer, from a Chatham down to a Wilkes, ſhould change colours at your ſpiritleſs ſarcaſms?

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING all the arguments you have muſtered up on the ſubject, theſe things go a good way to juſtify our preſent war with America. Indeed I have ever conſidered it as the conſtitution defending herſelf againſt the parricides, who owe all the power they poſſeſs, to her tender indulgence in their cauſe, who thus "LIFT UP THE HEEL AGAINST HER." Have not her treaſures and her blood been liberally and repeatedly expended? The very debt under which ſhe totters and groans, and by which you would juſtify their reſiſtance, they have accumulated. What would you think of that child now, who after being nouriſhed and protected by the kindeſt parents, with infinite tenderneſs and care, ſhould, the moment he arrived at manhood, ſmother every principle of gratitude and regard? Would not the individual who acted in this manner, be juſtly avoided and execrated as a monſter in human ſhape? The Americans, ſay what you will, are preciſely in this predicament. They durſt not have ſet a foot on the Continent, without the countenance of ſome power

able to ſhelter and defend them. For many years they continued helpleſs and feeble, but withall cringing, obſequious and peaceable. And the moment they are delivered from the French who kept them in awe, and have the whole Continent to themſelves, ſchemes of ambition are projected, mutinies ariſe, complaints break out, CABALS are formed, Petitions preſented, inflammatory libels propagated, and the moſt violent outrages committed. Why was not this temper diſcovered ſooner? Why not avow their republican and independent ſentiments from the beginning? Why have they tamely ſubmitted to a yoke thus heavy and galling, ſo long? Does not their daſtardly duplicity, and inſidious connivance, deſerve ſome chaſtiſement? They have waited and wiſhed to take us at a diſadvantage. We are ſunk in effeminacy, divided among ourſelves, and dupes to their artifices; and they aſſail us in the very inſtant of our lethargy, while we have the ſtrange infatuation to think we do our poor unhappy country a moſt eſſential ſervice, in aiding and abetting them.

A LIV-

A LIVING Philoſopher, to whoſe paradoxical maxims you are no ſtranger, and who, however viſionary and romantic in many reſpects, diſcovers more acquaintance with human nature, more obſervation and eloquence than all his cotemporaries put together, ſays, "that "government muſt be beſt under which Citi- "zens increaſe and multiply moſt." If you admit this maxim as a good one, I will refer you to an authority which you will not conteſt, for a proof that the Americans have hitherto been exceedingly fortunate. It is well obſerved, "that in ſome of the Colonies, they "double their numbers in fifteen years; in "others in eighteen years; and in all, taking "one with another, in twenty-five years—Such "an increaſe was I believe never known be- "fore. It demonſtrates that they muſt live "at their eaſe, and be free from thoſe cares, "oppreſſions, and diſeaſes, which depopulate "and ravage luxurious ſtates."

DID they not owe all this happineſs to that very ſtate, and thoſe very laws, againſt which

they are now in arms: and with all their objections to what they think mal-adminiſtration, they boggle not half ſo much at what they feel, as at what they foreſee. But we ſhould forbear coercion, and depend on their generoſity for what they are pleaſed to give us. And a particular inſtance is ſpecified of their exerting themſelves to this purpoſe, beyond their ability. What now, though we read the argument backwards, as witches do their prayers. Their condition, as you deſcribe it, is full demonſtration that they have hitherto been well and wiſely governed. Why then change a preſent and certain good, for a future and precarious one? Did we not, by returning them money which at that time we thought them not able to ſpare, ſhew how very far we were from wiſhing to hurt, much leſs in a wanton exertion of prerogative to enſlave or oppreſs them. Should they not, therefore, on their own account, have enjoyed themſelves, and been at quiet; or, becauſe they are pleaſed to grow teſty and croſs, muſt we

ſubmit

ſubmit to their petulance, or be accountable for their bad humour.

I HAVE often reflected, with wonder and concern, how Engliſhmen can be ſo eaſily impoſed on by a Club of political Sharpers, who have an intereſt in every popular commotion; and who care not what conſequences happen, provided they can but retard the diſpoſitions of the Cabinet, or blaſt the reputation of a miniſter. They have often been told—I will once more holla it in their ear—I wiſh it were poſſible to lodge it in their hearts—that thoſe very men who ſtruggle ſo hard in the cauſe of America, originally contrived and inſtigated the meaſures which they now reprobate in concert with you, as equally barbarous and impolitic. A maſter of painting, and by far the fineſt Writer that ever proſtituted his abilities in company with a thouſand SCRIBLERS of inferior note in fomenting the Rebellion which now rages in the extremities of the empire, has delineated the birth of this infernal FIEND, in touches that go to the bottom

bottom of the heart, and colours that ſhall blaze to eternity. "A ſeries of inconſiſtent "meaſures," ſays JUNIUS, "had alienated the "Colonies from their duty, as ſubjects, and "from their natural affection to their common "country. When Mr. Grenville was placed "at the head of the Treaſury, he felt the im-"poſſibility of Great Britain's ſupporting ſuch "an eſtabliſhment as her former ſucceſſes had "made indiſputable, and at the ſame time of "giving any ſenſible relief to foreign trade, "and to the weight of public debt. He "thought it equitable that thoſe parts of the "Empire, which had benefited moſt by the "expences of the war, ſhould contribute "ſomething to the expences of the peace; and "he had no doubt of the conſtitutional right "veſted in parliament, to raiſe the contribu-"tion. But, unfortunately for this Country, "Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be diſtreſſed, "becauſe he was Miniſter; and Mr. Pitt and "Lord Camden were to be patrons of Ame-"rica, becauſe they were in oppoſition. Their "declaration gave ſpirit and argument to the

"Colo-

" Colonies, and while perhaps they meant no
" more than a ruin of a miniſter, they, in ef-
" fect, divided one half of the Empire from
" another."

YOUR laſt ſection, and indeed your whole book, Sir, appears to me little more than a chapter of accidents. Deeply ſkilled in the ſcience of probability, you ſtill refer the reader to ſome diſtant period for the accompliſhment of all your prophecies. There is not, however, much ſhew of modeſty—in ſpeaking ſo deciſively about things ſo abſolutely ſpeculative,—in taking your ſuperiors to taſk in a tone ſo uncommonly magiſterial; — in impeaching the rectitude of the moſt reſpectable characters in the kingdom; — in declaiming with ſo much virulence againſt the POWERS THAT BE—in accumulating, in one point of view, whatever the litigious ſpirit of an irritated faction has belched out in the face of government for years together,— in loading his Majeſty, his ſervants, and the parliament, with infamy and diſgrace,—and in doing all in your power

power to impede and defeat the ends and views of public miniſtration. You ſcruple not to charge all our OFFICERS of ſtate inexceptionably, with deſigns on the liberty of the ſubject, with an ill-timed exerciſe of power, not only with inattention to public good, but even with a flagrant breach of public truſt.

> Theſe things indeed you have articulated,
> Proclaim'd at market croſſes, read in churches,
> To face the garment of rebellion
> With ſome fine colour, that may pleaſe the eye
> Of fickle changelings and poor diſcontent;
> Which gape and rub the elbow at the news
> Of hurly burly innovation.——
> And, never yet did inſurrection want
> Such water colours, to impaint his cauſe:
> Nor moody beggars, ſtarving for a time
> Of pell-mell havock and confuſion.

IN the courſe of your reaſoning and declamation, you aſk a number of queſtions, ſuffer me for a moment, Sir, to adopt your ſtile, and obtain a hearing. What GENIUS, hoſtile to the intereſts of humanity, could inſtigate you to ſtep forth at this critical juncture, and devote the whole of a large and populous kingdom to

ruin

ruin with ſo little ceremony? Is it a language beſeeming a ſtate of mortality and error to talk as if the deſtinies were at your diſpoſal? What right have we poor blind intoxicated INSECTS to preſcribe the courſe of Providence, or ſingle out the victims of divine reſentment? Will INFINITE WISDOM countenance our folly, or the wrath of Heaven give energy and effect to ours. Can any man in his right mind believe you better acquainted with the preſent ſtate of adminiſtration, the temperature of our conſtitution, or the genius of our age, than thoſe who do nothing but ſuperintend and ſtudy them. How would you, Sir, bear to be told by the leaſt informed perhaps of your hearers, that you in fact knew nothing about the true nature and deſign of your profeſſion, that your ſermons are calculated neither to convince the judgment, nor reform the life; and that you occupied a poſt, and aſſumed a character to which you are totally inadequate. You would undoubtedly and juſtly deſpiſe the charge, as originating from ignorance, impertinance, and ill-nature. The parallel muſt ſtrike, becauſe

obvious. Nor is the application diſreſpectful. Government in the univerſal experience of mankind, is well known to be the moſt intricate and perplexed of all other ſciences. The firſt principles of it ſpread and diſſeminate themſelves through all the different and various modifications of human paſſions. And there is no judging of its moſt obvious movements philoſophically, at leaſt without a clear and diſtinct conception of its more invalued and complicated ſprings. It is not at all impoſſible, but your political knowledge may be thus extenſive and profound. But is it not ſufficiently foreign to your profeſſion, to the boaſted ſimplicity and piety of your character, and to the general courſe of your reading and ſtudies, to have taught you ſome decency and moderation in the diſplay of it. Truſt me, the world has yet taſte enough to diſtinguiſh between aſſertion and proof; the ſpectres of a gloomy imagination, and the obvious deductions of right reaſon; the generous warmth of a true patriot, and the intemperate ravings of an irritated partizan.

I HAVE generally obſerved, that with all our pretenſions to independence of judgment, and freedom of enquiry, every one of us is leſs or more influenced by authority. Dogmatical and poſitive as ignorance and prejudice often render us, we are made originally ſuſceptible of advice. Inflexible opinion is incongruous to the natural tone of our intellectual faculties, and we are conſcious of a certain latent principle in our minds, which, in proportion as we enlarge our ſphere of intelligence, very much inclines us to diſtruſt our own deciſions. Hence the pleaſure of acquieſcing in the judgment of thoſe we love and eſteem, and of finding our ſentiments and views ſo frequently coincident as they often are with thoſe of a friend. There are not wanting, indeed, who put on the moſt forbidding airs of ſuperiority and dogmatiſm in every thing. But the univerſal diſguſt they occaſion, is a proof that the part they act is alike unnatural and ridiculous. Your integrity, I am perſuaded, would not allow you to father the productions of another. And yet the whole pamphlet appears to

me ſo very unlike the meek and benevolent mind of Dr. Price, that I ſincerely wiſh your name had been ſuppreſſed. I hope you are not ſo very ſolicitous about the rapid ſale of a paper, evidently wrote to the temper and taſte of the day, as to lend it the weight of your character on that account. And I am certain the violence you diſcover in the cauſe, can do you no ſervice among the more rational and moderate run of your readers. I am willing to think with numbers who have long admired your literature and worth, that in this you are inconſciouſly the TOOL of a party; and that by incautiouſly adopting their train of thinking, and mode of expreſſion, you are ſometimes led into a phraſeology by no means characteriſtic, either of your temper or writings. Forgive me this preſumption, Sir, I am not able to account for your intemperate language * the coarſeneſs of your ideas—the

* I am but too well juſtified in theſe allegations, though the Doctor's admirers may think very much otherwiſe. The following phraſes, which are ſelected with no great care from our Author, and which are printed in *Italics* for the ſake of diſtinction, I would recommend to the

harſhneſs of your cenſures—your want of taſte and preciſion—the tone of deſpondency you affect the Reader's attention, as a ſpecimen of the temper in which this yelping performance is wrote:

Shocking ſituation—deteſted meaſures—curſed war—dreadful power—an Engliſhman would ſooner loſe his heart's blood than yield to ſuch claims—a ſheathing our ſwords in the bowels of our brethren—ſpreading miſery and ruin among a happy people—how horrid—infernal principles—our governors are kindled into rage—a reſolution formed to exterminate the Americans—our policy a ſeries of the blindeſt rigour, followed by retraction, of violence followed by conceſſion, of miſtake, weakneſs, and inconſiſtency—a ſpirit of deſpotiſm and avarice—a ſudden accumulation of vengeance—did ever heaven puniſh the vices of a people more ſeverely by darkening their counſels—vile policy—what a ſcourge is government thus conducted—every one who has addreſſed the THRONE *againſt the Americans is guilty of ſavage folly—a ſupremacy which would leave them nothing they can call their own—what can be more ignominious—we are in the way to loſe even the form of the conſtitution—a folly ſo great, that language does not afford a name for it—it is madneſs to reſolve to butcher them—the juſtice of the nation has ſlept over enormities—will the juſtice of heaven ſleep—we are execrated on both ſides of the globe—if ruin is not to be our lot, all that has been lately done muſt be undone.*

Theſe are ſome of the pretty flowers that heighten and embelliſh the Doctor's ſtile. And if his language is not often more violent, it ſhould be attributed, perhaps, rather to a poverty of genius than to any mildneſs of temper. For theſe few inſtances plainly ſhew, that he has no great inclination to ſpare, and that his heart, very much out of order, prompts him ſtrongly to ſay the ſevereſt things he can.

affect—and the frightful picture of futurity you exhibit, on any other principle. Virulence is not natural to you, and every thing malevolent and ſarcaſtic comes from you aukwardly. A philoſopher ſhould never be ſo diffident of his ſentiments, as when they coincide with the ſentiments of the vulgar. You, Sir, had ſo much credit with the public in this light, that when your performance was firſt adverti ſed, they expected ſomething elſe than a ſtale repetition of whatever had already been ſaid on the ſubject, and both parties were equally diſpoſed to give you a fair and candid hearing; but really the partiality was too groſs not to create averſion and diſguſt in the minds of all, who were not previouſly determined to applaud whatever could be ſaid againſt government.

MAY I venture to aſk, Sir, for the queſtion has been frequently put, What you intended originally by this publication? You are not conſcious of throwing any new light, that is conſiderable, on the ſubject. Nor is your

ſtile

ſtile either preciſe or pungent, or forcible enough to carry conviction along with it. I dare not ſuppoſe you had any hope of producing the leaſt change of meaſures. If you had, you ought to have made the experiment much ſooner. But why ſhould you expect attention, while the reſt of the party were treated with ſo much neglect. To confirm and eſtabliſh the principles of thoſe who join with you in the ſame political Creed, was unneceſſary. For all the world over, opinions taken up at random, and without conviction, are generally the laſt to be laid down. Your opponents, it was hardly to be expected, would have patience to read you through, as they muſt conſider your Pamphlet merely in the light of a libel, and the more daring and outrageous, from the dignity and ſtation of the Characters arraigned. What might every loyal Briton ſay to himſelf! "Has truth no "other weapons to defend her cauſe but "wind and words? Does the Doctor think, "in reverſing the very firſt rules of perſuaſion, "to carry his point hollow at once? Or by exag-

" exaggerating the foibles of a miniſter, to
" inſpire us with an abhorrence of govern-
" ment? Inſtead of a cool, diſpaſſionate en-
" quiry, rational ſtrictures on the preſent ob-
" noxious plan of operations, or even a de-
" cent remonſtrance againſt it, we have no-
" thing here but declaration without certain-
" ty, cenſure without lenity, opinion without
" moderation, petulance without ſpirit, and
" invectives without dignity or force, a diſ-
" jointed and inconſiſtent medley of politics,
" every thing aſſumed, nothing eſtabliſhed,
" a method imperfect and perplexed, and a
" compoſition looſe, inelegant and tawdry."

It remains then, that you have at laſt con-deſcended to write for the vulgar. Pray, Sir, have they no concern in any thing you have wrote but that on politics? It does not ſeem as if you thought they had. At leaſt none of your other writings are ſo well accom-modated to their capacities. This, however, I mention only by the way, and as a circum-

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ſtance which gives no imperfect peep into the true purport of your work.

O POPULARITY! what a wild intoxicating thing thou art, and what little finical fantaſtic MIMICS, APES, and PUPPETS, thou haſt ever made, and ſtill art making, of all mankind! We hail thee! as the propitious GENIUS of Drollery and Merriment, ſent in pity by ſome kind, ſympathiſing, facetious SPIRIT, to trick us out of Melancholy into Good-humour, to quaſh the formal ſpectres of gravity and grimace that crowd the haunts of humanity, to turn our keeneſt paſſions and purſuits, as ſome ſmall compenſation for the pain they occaſion, into a fund of ridicule and fun; and, in ſpite of all the ſolemn, ſerious, and ſheepiſh faces we put on, to tickle our noſes with thy magic wand till we burſt into laughter. Under thy ſovereign influence, who would not wiſh to have their ears delighted with univerſal and voluntary peals of applauſe, to hear their fame and their worth re-echoed from every mouth, to be enrolled among that ſplendid

liſt of male and female Patriots, who ſuperadd ſo much glory and ECLAT to the preſent memorable reign, to roar aloud LIBERTY and Law, with Taylors, Tallow-chandlers, Soap-boilers, Chimney-ſweepers, Traders, Mechanics, Handicrafts of all kinds, with Dunces, Dotards, and Drunkards, innumerable—In ſhort, to be handed down to poſterity as the Saviour of a great Empire, hanging as it was on the verge of damnation, in common with many a very great Rogue, who, whatever Dr. PRICE might feel on the occaſion, like their precious Progenitor the amiable Nero, could even fiddle with pleaſure though Britain were in flames.

You will pardon, Sir, this ſally of levity in one, who ſeriouſly bears you no ill-will; but who is not a little ſhocked to find, that there is not an Apprentice, a Drayman, a Porter, or Shoe-black in Town, who does not quote you for all the extravagant nonſenſe they utter. And you are well enough acquainted with hiſtory to be ſatisfied that the

ſuffrage

ſuffrage of the people at large, has ever been conſidered by the wiſe and good as a preſumption of a bad cauſe.

But, O Sir! all this is nothing. You have joined the enemies of your country, in ſtabbing her to the heart. Her nakedneſs you have cruelly expoſed, her credit wantonly depreciated, and invited every daring and enterpriſing Adverſary to attack her with ſucceſs. The general diſſatisfaction which has been long gathering, and artfully inſtilled into the minds of a giddy, gaping populace, is now fomented into a phrenzy, threatening and tremendous. And to ſpread the treaſonable infection throughout the kingdom, large editions of your work are every where diſſeminating gratis. How muſt this appear to thoſe who differ from you? Is it a grateful return for your privileges to undermine, in this manner, the very laws that ſecure them? Muſt not all Europe deteſt, their Majeſties pity, and poſterity execrate ſo foul an attempt on the peace of ſociety? For this muſt be the meaning of

your book, if it had any meaning at all. And what imaginable pleaſure can it afford you, Sir, thus to embroil the very nation that gave you birth, that ſtill gives you life and liberty, and every thing that can render you comfortable and eaſy, into one wild and waſteful ſcene of madneſs and confuſion? On ſuppoſition now of a civil war raging in the heart of this diſmal and diſtracted country, could you, Sir, reſt ſatisfied that you had no hand in bringing it about? That you could not. The ghoſts of the ſlain, the groans of the wounded, the ſighs of the fatherleſs, the widows tears, and the dreadful execrations of the wretched, would for ever haunt and upbraid you for the officious part you have acted in plunging them into ſo much miſery and woe. Yes, Sir, the mob may halloo you with the ſame intemperate foaming fury, they have hallooed many a worthleſs and infamous wretch, with whom I would not rank you in idea; but I will venture to affirm, that this ſame whining performance of yours, has done them more

real

real injury, than all your preaching, theories, calculations, ever did, or ever can do them good. You have cut the ſinews of their induſtry, by filling their heads with chimeras. You have blaſted their felicity by ſwelling their hearts with ſedition. You have ſet relations at variance among themſelves, and quaſhed the ſprings of domeſtic tenderneſs and comfort. You have ſounded a very fearful but very falſe alarm, about national credit; and made thouſands, unfortunately diſpoſed to believe every thing you ſay, tremble for their property. You have made Heaven a party in your cauſe, and, like the rebels you defend, proſtituted the ſacred name of religion, to give ſanction and countenance to the fumes of a faction. In one word, you have blown up a flame which for ought I know, may expire only with the extinction of all for which a wiſe man could wiſh to live. And is this your regard for the rights of human nature, your philanthropy, your patriotiſm your, religion? Heavens! What miſguided and miſchievous

things,

things, the beſt of men are, under the direction violent paſſions.

THUS, Sir, I have gone through your declamatory performance, and every where expreſſed what occurred to me, without reſervation or diſguiſe. My aim has rather been to blunt the edge of its ſpirit, than formally refute the erroneous principles, or correct the miſrepreſentations in which it abounds. I equally avoid torturing your words, and miſconſtructing your meaning, but content myſelf with ſaying only what has been thought and ſaid by thouſands of your readers. You may think my language too ſtrong, and my animadverſions too ſevere for the occaſion, and your friends, I dare ſay, will unanimouſly be of opinion, that I have by no means treated you with ſufficient reverence. Mark me, Sir. Real worth I very much admire and eſteem wherever I find it, but will courteſy and bow to no man for the ſake of his name. With your character I have no manner of concern, or indeed with any thing about you, but as

you

appear in this pamphlet; where I cannot help conſidering you as ſpreading very dangerous tenets, as prompting a ſpirit of diſobedience to the laws of the land, and in proportion as I love my country, muſt the refore condemn your conduct. But why, apologize in this manner for writing againſt rebellion, while you ſo avowedly write in its favour. I deſpiſe from the bottom of my ſoul, that popularity, which is bought at the expence of loyalty, and would ſooner relinquiſh my life, than be ruled by the dictates of a mob. To me there can be no ſocial comfort without government, and the moment we loſe ſight of the conſtitution, all government is at an end. I hope, however, the Americans, in ſpite of all the ſelfiſh and miſerable efforts of their ebetors in this country, may yet find that obedience is the beſt charter, and law the only ſanction of liberty. For my own part, Sir, in theſe ſentiments I have hitherto lived, and in theſe I wiſh to die. Farewell.

FINIS.